'Bed, he thought, one Cat came into his Reach, 'and he ſtruck her on the Back; and upon En-'quiry, he heard this ſuſpected Woman had a ſore 'Back. But Mr. *Day*, the Widow's Surgeon, clear-'ed the Matter, ſaying, This Widow came to him, 'and complained of a Sore in her Back, and de-'ſired his Help; and he found it to be a Boil, 'and ripen'd and heal'd it as he uſed to do other 'Boils; but while this was in Cure, the ſuppos'd 'Cat was wounded, as is already rehearſed.

The Reader may give as little Credit as he thinks fit to theſe two laſt Relations; for I pawn not my own Faith for their Reality: But I thought it not amiſs to add them, that thoſe who by having their Heads full of the Devil and Spirits, ſhall ever bring themſelves under the Miſery of ſuch Deluſions, may have this more rational and leſs bloody way of ſolving their Difficulties.

CHAP. V.

The Witchcrafts at Salem, Boſton, *and* Andover *in* New-England.

Adv. IF you think fit, we will conſider next the late Witchcrafts ſuppos'd to have been in *New-England*; they are freſh, and there are Witneſſes enow living. Mr. *Cotton Mather*, no longer ſince than 1690, publiſhed the Caſe of one *Goodwin*'s Children; for the bewitching of whom, as was ſuppos'd, one *Glover*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, was hang'd the Year before. The Book was ſent hither to be printed amongſt us, and Mr. *Baxter* recommended it to our People by a Preface, wherein he ſays, *That Man muſt be a very obdurate* Sadducee, *that*

that will not believe it. The Year after, Mr. *Baxter*, perhaps encouraged by Mr. *Mather*'s Book, publiſh'd his own *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, with another Teſtimony, *That Mr.* Mather's *Book would ſilence any Incredulity that pretended to be Rational.* And Mr. *Mather* diſperſed Mr. *Baxter*'s Book in *New-England*, with the Character of it, as a Book that was *Ungainſayable.* I ſee both of them have not ſatisfy'd you; Pray what have you to ſay againſt Mr. *Mather*'s?

Clerg. Upon the extraordinary Commendation that Mr. *Baxter* gave of it, I ſent for it, with great Hope to have ſeen this Caſe of Witchcraft put beyond Queſtion; but the Judgment I made of it was, that the poor old Woman being an *Iriſh* Papiſt, and not ready in the Signification of *Engliſh* Words, had entangled her ſelf by a ſuperſtitious Belief, and doubtful Anſwers about *Saints* and *Charms*; and ſeeing what Advantages Mr. *Mather* made of it, I was afraid I ſaw part of the Reaſons that carried the Cauſe againſt her. And, Firſt, It is manifeſt, that Mr. *Mather* is magnify'd, as having great Power over the evil Spirits. A young Man in his Family is repreſented ſo holy, that the Place of his Devotions was a certain Cure of the young Virgin's Fits. Then his Grandfather's and Father's Books have gained a Teſtimony, that, upon occaſion, may be improved, one knows not how far. For amongſt the many Experiments that were made, Mr. *Mather* would bring to this young Maid the *Bible*, *The Aſſemblies Catechiſm*; his Grandfather *Cotton*'s *Milk for Babes*; his Father's *Remarkable Providences*; and a Book to prove, that there *were Witches*; and when any of theſe were offered for her to read in, ſhe would be ſtruck dead, and fall into hideous Convulſions. Theſe good Books, (*he ſays*) *were mortal to her*; and leaſt the World ſhould be ſo dull, as not to take him right, *He adds*, p. 23. '*I hope I have not ſpoiled*

'*the*

' *the Credit of the Books, by telling how much the De-*
' *vil hated them.*

To make the Caſe more manifeſt both ways, he tried her with other Books; as *Quaker*'s Books, *Popiſh* Books; the *Cambridge* and *Oxford Jeſts*, a *Prayer-Book*, a Book written to prove that there were *No Witches*: And the Devil would let her read theſe as long as ſhe would; and particularly ſhe treated the *Prayer-Book* with great Reſpect; and, which was very ſtrange, the Devil was ſo ſure that nothing in that Book could do her good, that he would ſuffer her to read the very Scriptures in that: But when, for Experiment, Mr. *Mather* turned to the very ſame Texts in the *Bible*, ſhe could as ſoon die as read them there.

Adv. I did not doubt but this would make you merry; but ſince it is true in Fact, What have you to ſay againſt it?

Clerg. Nothing at all but this, That tho' our *Common-Prayer-Book* be for ever confuted by this Witneſs, yet there muſt be a Miſtake in placing the *Popiſh* Books in the ſame Black Liſt with thoſe that the Devil loves; for Mr. *Baxter* hath proved the Devil's Hatred of Popiſh Books by as ſubſtantial a Witneſs, as Mr. *Mather* can prove his Hatred of his Grandfather's *Milk for Babes*. See Mr. *Baxter's Certainty of the World of Spirits*, p. 111. ---- ' While *Modeſtus*, a *Ca-*
' *puchin*, was yet Fifty Paces from my Chamber, the
' Girl fell down as one deprived of Life, *&c.* The
' Mother ſeeing the Child fall, ſaid, the *Capuchins*
' were coming. She had no ſooner ſaid this, but they
' knocked at the Door. When they were come in,
' and had lighted the conſecrated Taper, and the Exor-
' ciſt had put on his Habit, as ſoon as ever he had read
' the firſt Words of the Exorciſm, the *Girl*, which hi-
' therto had lain more immoveable than any dead
' Corps, fell a ſhaking all over, that ſhe could not be
' held by Six of us, *&c.* I begged the Exorciſt, out
' of Compaſſion to her, to forbear his reading. He

' had

'had ſcarce pronounced the laſt Syllable, when in 'an Inſtant, ſhe lay as quiet as poſſible; and when 'they had quitted the Houſe, ſhe opened her Eyes, 'and ſtood up.' ---- This Mr. *Baxter* quotes for Truth from *Henricus ab Heer*, *Obſ.* 8. And I deſire you, Mr. *Advocate*, to give me a good Reaſon why the Devils that are in *Flanders*, are tormented by the *Popiſh* Books; and in *New England* are as fond of them, as of the *Oxford* Jeſts, or the *Common-Prayer-Book*, or even a Book to prove that there are no Witches?

Adv. I know you think this Difference is owing to the Notions, or Faith, or Humours, or Tricks of the Parties, and the Management of the Exorciſts: But ſuch Fits may be Diabolical for all this; for tho' evil Spirits cannot be ſuppoſed in reality to be differently affected according to *Popiſh*, or *Independent* Notions; yet the very ſame Spirit may counterfeit a Torture, or a Delight, at the very ſame Book, according as he can better make uſe of it for a Snare to thoſe that are about him.

Clerg. That you may ſee I give you fair Play, I will ſuppoſe this: But then in requital, I hope you will allow me, that theſe Tortures of the Devil are no ſufficient Trial to decide the Truth of Books and Doctrines.

Adv. Mr. *Mather* himſelf tells you as much, p. 23. He owns it is a fanciful Buſineſs, and no Teſt for the Truth to be determined by.

Clerg. I will not ask you how you reconcile this Clauſe with the many Experiments he made, and his printing and preſſing the Argument in his Sermon afterward; for my Buſineſs is not to expoſe him, but to find out the true and falſe Rules for the Diſcovery of Witches: And therefore I ask you this Queſtion, If the ſtanding and falling of afflicted Perſons be no ſafe Tryal of the *Goodneſs* or *Badneſs* of *Books*; How comes it to be a better Teſt of the *Guilt* or *Innocence* of *Perſons*? The Experiment anſwers Expectation in *Perſons*,

Perſons, juſt as it does in *Books*. This Teſt hath been made uſe of in almoſt all the famous Tryals that we have upon Record; and particularly in that before my Lord Chief Baron *Hales*: But ſince the Devil, upon your own Suppoſition, will pretend Torture when he feels none, and fall when he needs not; What ſhould make Men venture the Lives of their Chriſtian Brethren upon a Tryal, that muſt be as falſe and fallacious as the Devil can make it?

I will obſerve one thing more from Mr. *Mather*'s Book. He took this young Woman home, that he might the better make his Obſervations. She often uſed to ſay, that the Witches brought her an Inviſible Horſe; and then ſhe would ſkip into a Chair, and ſeat her ſelf in a riding Poſture; and after that, ſhe would be moved as if *Ambling*, and *Trotting*, and *Galloping*. She talked with inviſible Company, that ſeemed to go with her, and liſtned for their Anſwers. After two or three Minutes, ſhe would ſeem to think herſelf at a Rendezvous with Witches a great way off, and ſoon after return back upon her Imaginary Horſe, and then come to her ſelf; and once ſhe told Mr. *Mather*, that three ſhe ſaid had been there, and what they had ſaid. In many other Authors, there are Relations of Perſons that have been ſeen to lye ſtill intranced at home, while they have ſaid, they have been at theſe Witches Meetings; and from thoſe, and this, I would obſerve theſe Four Things:

1. Thoſe that have made no Compact, and are not Witches, may fancy that they take theſe airy Journeys with Witches. For Mr. *Mather* does not ſuppoſe this young Woman was a Witch, but a Religious Perſon, afflicted by others, a Counterfeit, or perhaps a *Dæmoniac*.

2. Thoſe Journeys and Rendezvouzs are not real, but fantaſtick Things like *Dreams*. Mr. *Mather*, and a Houſe full of Witneſſes often ſtood by, and ſaw her

at

at home in her Chair, all the Time that ſhe thought herſelf at their Meetings.

3. Courts of Juſtice may as well hang People, upon their Confeſſions, for the Murders they think they commit in their Dreams, as for what they fancy they do in theſe Trances. What if this Girl, in this Extaſy of Mind, when ſhe had not the Uſe of her Reaſon, had made a Compact, and thought ſhe had ſet her Name to it, and joyned with other Witches in Murders, and confeſſed them? What wiſe Man would have turned ſuch a Confeſſion to her Hurt? Phyſick for Madneſs would be proper for ſuch a one; but a Stake, or Gallows would be barbarous.

4. It would be harder yet to hang other People for what theſe Brainſick Perſons fancy they ſee them do.

Adv. Have you any Thing elſe to obſerve from Mr. *Mather*'s Book?

Clerg. Yes; obſerve the Time of the Publication of that Book, and of Mr. *Baxter*'s. Mr. *Mather*'s came out 1690, and Mr. *Baxter*'s the Year after; and Mr. *Mather*'s his Father's Remarkable Providences had been out before that: And in the Year 1692, the Frights and Fits of the afflicted, and the Impriſonment and Execution of Witches in *New-England*, made as ſad a Calamity, as a Plague or War. I know Mr. *Cotton Mather*, in his late Folio, imputes it to the *Indian Paw-waws*, ſending their Spirits amongſt them; but I attribute it to Mr. *Baxter*'s Book, and his, and his Father's, and the falſe Principles, and frightful Stories that filled the People's Minds with great Fears and dangerous Notions.

And here I will lay before you a brief State of the Facts of thoſe *New-England* Witchcrafts. My Author, for the greateſt Part of it, is Mr. *Calef*, a Merchant in that Plantation, and an Eye-Witneſs of much that he wrote. In his Book there are many Tryals

Tryals at large, and many Circumſtances that I have taken no notice of, and therefore I recommend to you the Book itſelf; and I take it to be as plain a Proof as any I have met with, of the Miſtakes and Miſchiefs of thoſe Notions that I am arguing againſt. *The Book was printed for* Nath. Hillar, *at the* Prince's Arms *in* Leaden-hall-ſtreet, London.

In the latter End of *February* 1694, divers young Perſons, belonging to the Family of Mr. *Parris*, Miniſter of *Salem*, and one or more of the Neighbourhood, began to act after a ſtrange and unuſual Manner. They crept inro Holes, and under Chairs and Stools. They uſed antick Geſtures, and ſpake ridiculous Speeches, and fell into Fits. After ſome Time, and a Day of Prayer kept, the afflicted Perſons named ſeveral that they ſaid they ſaw in their Fits afflicting them, and in particular, an *Indian* Woman, that lived in Mr. *Parris*'s Houſe, and had tried a Trick with a Cake of Rye Meal, and the Children's Water laid in Aſhes, to diſcover the Witches. She being beaten, and threatned, confeſs'd her ſelf to be the Witch, and ſaid the Devil urged her to ſign a Book. Others confeſs'd their being urged to ſign the Book. One ſaid it was a red Book, of a conſiderable Thickneſs, and about a Cubit long.

In a little Time, the Numbers of the afflicted increaſed to Ten, and the accuſed were many more. One Goodw. *Cory* was examined; the afflicted ſaid, ſhe bit, pinched, and ſtrangled them. They ſaid, they ſaw her *Likeneſs* bring a Book to them to ſign. At the Time of her Tryal, they ſaid, a black Man whiſper'd in her Ear, and that ſhe had a yellow Bird, that even then ſucked between her Fingers. Orders were given to ſearch the Place. The Girl that ſaw it, ſaid, it was now too late, ſhe had removed a Pin, and put it on her Head; upon Search it was found, that a Pin was there ſticking upright.

A Child

A Child, of about Four or Five Years old, was accuſed, and apprehended. The Accuſers ſaid, this Child bit them, and would ſhow the Marks of ſmall Teeth upon their Arm. As many as the Child caſt its Eye upon, would complain, that they were in Torment.

April 11. 1692. There was a publick Hearing before Six Magiſtrates, and ſeveral Miniſters. The afflicted complained againſt many, with hideous Clamours and Screechings. One Goodw. *Procter* was (according to the Phraſe much uſed upon ſuch Occaſions) cried out of, and her Husband coming to attend, and aſſiſt her, the Accuſers cried out of him alſo.

About this Time, beſides the Experiment of the afflicted falling at the Sight, they put the accuſed upon ſaying the Lord's Prayer, and ſearch'd for Teats, and fancied they found one upon Goodw. *Biſhop*.

May 14. 1692. Sir *William Phips* entered upon the Government, and put the Witches in Chains: Upon that, it was ſaid, that the afflicted Perſons were free from their Tortures.

May 31. Capt. *Aldin* committed, and after Fifteen Weeks Impriſonment he was glad to make his Eſcape, and fly from a Tryal.

June 10. *Bridget Biſhop* was executed, proteſting her Innocence.

July 19. Five were executed. One of them was *Sarah Good*. Mr. *Noyes* urged her to confeſs, and ſaid ſhe knew ſhe was a Witch. To which, ſhe replied, he was a Lyar. *I am no more a Witch than you are a Wizard; and if you take away my Life, God will give you Blood to drink.*

Rebecca Nurſe was another of thoſe Five. At firſt the Jury brought her in, *Not Guilty*. Immediately all the Accuſers in the Court, and ſuddenly after, all the afflicted out of Court, made a hideous Outcry, to the Amazement, not only of the Spectators, but of the Court. They were ſent out again to conſider better of one Expreſſion of hers; and returning, they brought

brought her in *Guilty*, and ſhe was executed with the reſt, all Five maintaining their Innocence to the laſt.

Aug. 19. Five more were executed, denying any Guilt in that Matter of Witchcraft. One of them was Mr. *Burroughs*, a Miniſter. When he was upon the Ladder, he made a Speech for the clearing his Innocency, with ſuch ſolemn and ſerious Expreſſions as were to the Admiration of all preſent, and drew Tears from many. The Accuſers ſaid the black Man dictated to him.

John Willard was another of thoſe Five. He had been employed in fetching in ſeveral that were accuſed, but at laſt declining to fetch in more, he was cried out of. He made his Eſcape Forty Miles from *Salem*; yet it is ſaid, that the Accuſers told the exact Time when he was apprehended, ſaying, *Now* Willard *is taken.*

Sept. 16. *Giles Cory* pleaded *Not Guilty*, but having found that they clear'd none that had been tried; he reſolved to be preſs'd, that is, I ſuppoſe rather than be tried by ſuch Juries. In preſſing, his Tongue was forc'd out of his Mouth, but the Sheriff, with his Cane, thruſt it in again, when he was dying.

Sept. 22. The ſame Year Eight more were executed. The Cart going to the Hill with them was ſet for a Time. The afflicted ſaid the Devil hindred it.

In the beginning of *October*, Mr. *Cotton Mather*, at the deſire of Sir *William Phips* the Governor, and with the Approbation of Two of their Judges, publiſh'd Seven of the Tryals of thoſe that ſuffer'd. And as they grounded themſelves chiefly upon our Law and Precedents and Books from *England*, he put before them an Abridgment of the Tryals of the Two Women that were condemned by my Lord Chief Baron *Hales* at *Bury*, 1664. As alſo an Abridgment of the Rules and Signs of Witches, that are in *Perkins*, *Barnard*, and *Gaul*, and from Mr. *Baxter*'s Book

he

he laid before them the Caſe of the *Suffolk* Witches, 1654. See his *more Wonders of the inviſible World.*

I take notice of this, becauſe the more either they or others have been influenc'd by our Law, Tryals or Books, the more Reaſon there is that we ſhould offer them ſomething towards the clearing any Miſtakes in them. —— But to proceed in the Account.

In this ſame Month of *October* one of the afflicted complained of Mrs. *Hale*, whoſe Husband was the Miniſter of *Beverly*, and had been very active in theſe Proſecutions, but being fully ſatisfied of his Wife's Innocency, he altered his Judgment: For it was come to a ſtated Controverſy amongſt them, *Whether the Devil could afflict in a good Man's Shape?* This Accuſation of Mrs. *Hale*, and ſome others, very ſober People, brought them to believe, that he might, or at leaſt that he could manage Matters ſo as the afflicted ſhould think he did. This Reaſon afterwards prevailed with many, and had much Influence to the ſucceeding Change of Affairs; but it did not convince them ſo ſoon, but that there were many Impriſonments after this, and ſome condemned, tho' none executed.

Mr. *Philip Engliſh* and his Wife fled the Country, and their Eſtate was ſeized to the Value of 1500 Pounds, and not above 300 Pounds found to be reſtored, when the Storm was over, that they durſt return home.

About this Time, one *Joſeph Ballard*, of *Andover*, ſent to *Salem*, for ſome of theſe Accuſers who pretended to have the ſpectral Sight, to tell him who afflicted his Wife. When theſe People came to any Place, they uſually fell into a Fit; after which, they would name one that they ſaw ſitting on the Head, and another on the Feet of the afflicted; and ſoon after their coming to *Andover* 50 Perſons were complained of for afflicting their Neighbours. Here many

accuſed themſelves of riding upon Poles through the Air. Many Parents believed their Children to be Witches, and many Huſbands their Wives: And others, beſides thoſe that were ſent for, were thought to have the ſame ſpectral Sight.

Mr. *Dudley Bradſtreet*, a Juſtice of Peace, in *Andover*, having himſelf committed 30 or 40 to Priſons, for theſe ſuppoſed Witchcrafts, himſelf and his Wife were both cried out of by theſe Accuſers, and durſt not ſtand a Tryal, but fled for their Lives. They ſaid Mr. *Bradſtreet* had killed nine; for they ſaid, they ſaw the Ghoſts of murdered People hover over thoſe that had killed them.

A Dog being afflicted at *Salem*, thoſe that had the ſpectral Sight, ſaid, Mr. *John Bradſtreet*, the Juſtice's Brother, afflicted the Dog, and then rid upon him. He made his Eſcape, and the Dog was put to death, and was all of the afflicted that ſuffered.

Another Dog was ſaid to afflict others, and they fell into their Fits, when the Dog looked upon them. The Dog was put to death.

A worthy Gentleman of *Boſton*, being accuſed by thoſe at *Andover*, he ſent a Writ to arreſt the Accuſers in a Thouſand Pound Action for Defamation. From that Time, the Accuſations at *Andover* generally ceaſed.

Jan. 3. 169$\frac{2}{3}$. Thirty Bills of Indictments were brought in *Ignoramus*. Six and Twenty were brought in *Billa vera*; and upon all thoſe, only Three were found guilty upon Tryal.

Jan. 31. 169$\frac{2}{3}$. Seven that were under Condemnation were reprieved.

April 25. 1693. One was tryed that confeſs'd. But they were now ſo well taught what weight to lay upon Confeſſions, that the Jury brought her in, *Not Guilty*, tho' ſhe confeſſed ſhe was.

And

And now after a Storm of Sixteen Months, Nineteen Perſons having been hanged, and one preſs'd to Death, and Eight more condemn'd; above Fifty having confeſſed themſelves Witches, of which not one executed; above 150 in Priſon, and above 200 more accuſed: And the Accuſers that began with an *Indian* Slave, being grown bold to cry out of the Juſtices that had proſecuted others, and the better Sort of People amongſt them, it was thought Time to put a Stop to Proſecutions; and accordingly about *April* 1693, the accuſed Perſons in all Priſons were ſet at Liberty, and thoſe that had fled the Country returned home.

And thoſe Towns having regained their Quiet; and this Caſe being of that Nature, that Facts and Experience are of more weight than meer rational Arguments; it will be worth our while to obſerve ſome Paſſages that happened after this Storm, when they had Time to look back upon what had paſſed.

And firſt it is obſervable, that as the ſuppoſed Witchcrafts of *Salem* began in the Houſe of Mr. *Parris*, Miniſter of that Town; and he had been a Witneſs, and zealous Proſecutor of the ſuppoſed Witches, many of his People withdrew from his Communion, and in *April* 1693, drew up Articles againſt him. They were ſo ſettled in their Averſion, that they continued their Proſecutions Three or Four Years, and *July* 21, 1697, they drew up a Remonſtrance, and preſented it to Arbitrators, that the Matter was referred to.

The latter Part of their Remonſtrance is thus.

" His believing the Devil's Accuſations, and readily departing from all Charity to Perſons, tho' of blameleſs Lives, upon ſuch Suggeſtions; his promoting ſuch Accuſations, *&c.*

" That Mr. *Parris*'s going to *Mary Walut*, or *Abigal Williams*, to know who afflicted the Peo-

" ple in their Illneſs, we underſtand this to be a " Dealing with them that have a familiar Spirit, " and an implicit denying the Providence of God, " which alone, as we believe, can ſend Afflictions, " or cauſe Devils to afflict any.

" That Mr. *Parris* by theſe Practices and Princi- " ples, hath been the Beginner and Procurer of the " ſoreſt Afflictions, not to this Village only, but to " this whole Country, that did ever befall them.

Mr. *Parris* did acknowledge his Miſtakes, and profeſs he ſhould be far from acting again upon the ſame Principles: But they thought that was not enough for ſuch an Inſtrument of their Miſeries, and therefore by the Determination of the Arbitrators, he was diſmiſſed. *See* Calef, *p.* 64.

Dec. 17. 1696. There was a Proclamation for a Faſt, and in the Proclamation this Clauſe. —— " That " God would ſhew us what we know not, and " help us, wherein we have done amiſs, to do ſo " no more; and eſpecially that whatever Miſtakes " on either Hand, had been fallen into, either by " the Body of this People, or any Orders of Men, " referring to the late Tragedy, raiſed amongſt us " by Satan and his Inſtruments, through the awful " Judgments of God, he would humble us therefore, " and pardon all the Errors of his Servants, *&c.*

Upon the Day of the Faſt, one that had ſat in Judicature in *Salem*, delivered in a Paper, and while it was reading, ſtood up. As it is reported by Memory, it was, " That he was apprehenſive, that he " might have fallen into ſome Errors in the Mat- " ters of *Salem*, and to pray, that the Guilt of ſuch " Miſcarriages may not be imputed, either to the " Country in general, or to him, or his Family in " particular, *p.* 144.

Thoſe

Thoſe that confeſſed, went off from their Confeſſions, and ſeveral of them ſigned a Writing of which this is part.

" After Mr. *Barnard* had been at Prayer, we were " blindfolded, and our Hands were laid upon the " affliƈted Perſons, they being in their Fits, and " falling into their Fits at our coming into their " Preſence (as they ſaid,) and ſome led us, and laid " our Hands upon them, and then, they ſaid, they " were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting " them; whereupon we were ſeized, and ſent Pri- " ſoners to *Salem*. And by Reaſon of that ſudden " Surprizal, we knowing our ſelves altogether inno- " cent of that Crime, we were all exceedingly aſto- " niſhed, and amazed, and conſternated and affrighted, " even out of our Reaſon. And our neareſt and " deareſt Relations ſeeing us in that dreadful Condi- " tion, and apprehending, that there was no other " way to ſave our Lives but by confeſſing our ſelves " to be ſuch and ſuch Perſons as the afflicted re- " preſented us to be; they out of tender Love and " Pity perſwaded us to confeſs what we did con- " feſs. And indeed that Confeſſion, that is ſaid we " made, was no other than what was ſuggeſted to " us by ſome Gentlemen, they telling us we were " Witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and " they knew that we knew it, which made us think " that it was ſo; and our Underſtanding, our Rea- " ſon, and our Faculties almoſt gone, we were not " capable of judging our Condition, *&c.* And moſt " of what we ſaid was but a conſenting to what " they ſaid. Some time after, when we had been " better compoſed, they telling us what we had " confeſſed, we did profeſs that we were innocent and " ignorant of ſuch Things. And we hearing that *Samuel* " *Wardwell* had renounced his Confeſſion, and quick-

" ly after had been condemned and executed: Some of " us were told, that we were going after *Wardwell.*

Signed by

Mary Oſgood, Mary Tiler, Deliv. Dane, Abigal Barker, Sarah Wilſon, Hannah Tiler, p. 3.

Some that have been of ſeveral Juries, have given forth a Paper ſigned with their own Hands, in theſe Words.

" We whoſe Names are underwritten, being in " the Year 1692, called to ſerve as Jurors in Court " at *Salem*, on Tryal of many, who were by ſome " ſuſpected guilty of doing Acts of Witchcraft upon " the Bodies of ſundry Perſons:

" We confeſs, that we our ſelves were not capa- " ble to underſtand, nor able to withſtand the my- " ſterious Deluſions of the Powers of Darkneſs, and " Prince of the Air: But were for want of Know- " ledge in our ſelves, and better Information from " others, prevailed with to take up ſuch Evidence " againſt the accuſed, as on further Conſideration, " and better Information, we juſtly fear was inſuf- " ficient for the touching the Lives of any, *Deut.* " 17. 6. whereby we fear, we have been inſtrumen- " tal with others, tho' ignorantly and unwittingly, " to bring upon our ſelves, and this People of the " Lord, the Guilt of innocent Blood, *&c.* We do " therefore hereby ſignify to all in general (and to " the ſurviving Sufferers in ſpecial) our deep Senſe " of, and Sorrow for our Errors, in acting on ſuch " Evidence to the Condemnation of any Perſon.

" And do hereby declare, that we juſtly fear, " that we were ſadly deluded and miſtaken, for

" which

" which we are much diſquieted, and diſtreſſed in " our Minds; and do therefore humbly beg For- " giveneſs, firſt of God, for Chriſt's Sake, for this " our Error; and pray, that God would not impute " the Guilt of it to our ſelves, nor others: And we al- " ſo pray, that we may be conſidered candidly, and " aright by the living Sufferers, as being then un- " der the Power of a ſtrong and general Deluſion, " utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in " Matters of that Nature.

" We do heartily aſk Forgiveneſs of you all, " whom we have juſtly offended, and do declare, " according to our preſent Minds, we would none " of us do ſuch Things again on ſuch Grounds, " for the whole World; praying you to accept of " this in way of Satisfaction for our Offence, and " that you would bleſs the Inheritance of the Lord, " that he may be intreated for the Land.

Foreman.	*Thomas Fiſk*,	*Thomas Perly*, Sen.
	William Fiſk,	*John Pebody*,
	John Bacheler,	*Thomas Perkins*,
	Tho. Fiſk, jun.	*Samuel Sayer*,
	John Dane,	*Andrew Elliot*,
	Joſeph Evelith,	*Henry Herrick*.

Since I have drawn up this Account from Mr *Calef*, and Mr. *Mather*'s Books, I have met with a farther and later Relations of theſe Matters, publiſhed by Mr. *Cotton Mather* himſelf, at the 80th Page of his 6th Book of the Hiſtory of *New-England*, Printed 1702. The Account he publiſhes was written by Mr. *John Hales*, whoſe Wife, as I mentioned before, was at laſt accuſed amongſt the others ſuſpected for Witches, and ſhe being a Woman of good Reputation, her danger began to open their Eyes.

See § 6.---- " But that which chiefly carried on " this Matter to ſuch a Height, was the increaſing " of Confeſſions, until they amounted to near upon " Fifty ; and Four or Six of them upon their Try- " als, owned their Guilt of this Crime, and were " condemned for the ſame, but not executed. And " many of the Confeſſors confirmed their Confeſſions " with very ſtrong Circumſtances, as their exact " Agreement with the Accuſations of the afflicted ; " their punctual Agreement with the Accuſations " of their Fellow-Confeſſors ; their relating the Times " when they covenanted with Satan, and the Rea- " ſons that moved them thereunto : Their Witch- " meetings, and that they had their mock Sacra- " ments of Baptiſm, and the Supper, in ſome of " them : Their ſigning the Devil's Book, and ſome " ſhewed the Scars of the Wounds, which, they " ſaid, were made to fetch Blood with, to ſign the " Devil's Book ; and ſome ſaid, they had Imps to " ſuck them, and ſhewed Sores raw, where they " ſaid, they were ſucked by them.

§ 7. " The afflicted complained, that the Spe- " ctres which vexed them, urged them to ſet their " Hands to a Book preſented to them, (as to them " it ſeemed) with Threatnings of great Torments " if they ſigned not, and Promiſes of Eaſe if they " obey'd. Among theſe *D. H.* as ſhe ſaid (which " ſundry others confeſſed afterward) being overcome " by the Extremity of her Pains, did ſign the Book " preſented, and had the promiſed Eaſe ; and imme- " diately upon it, a Spectre in her Shape afflicted " another Perſon, and ſaid, I have ſigned the Book " and have Eaſe ; now do you ſign and ſo ſhall " you have Eaſe. And one Day, this afflicted Per- " ſon pointed at a certain Place in the Room, and " ſaid there is *D. H.* ; upon which a Man with his " Rapier ſtruck at the Place, tho' he ſaw no Shape, " and the afflicted called out, you have given her a

" ſmall

" ſmall Prick about the Eye. Soon after this, the " ſaid D. *H.* confeſs'd herſelf to be made a Witch, " by ſigning the Devil's Books, and declared that " ſhe had afflicted the Maid that complained of " her; and in doing of it, had received two Wounds " by a Sword or Rapier; a ſmall one about the " Eye, which ſhe ſhewed to the Magiſtrates, and " a bigger on the Side, of which ſhe was ſearch- " ed by a diſcreet Woman, who reported, that *D. H.* " had on her Side the Sign of a Wound newly " healed, *&c.*

" §. 11. By theſe things, you may ſee, how this " Matter was carried on, *viz.* chiefly by the Com- " plaints and Accuſations of the Afflicted, and then " by the Confeſſions of the Accuſed, condemning " themſelves and others. Yet Experience ſhewed, " that the more there were apprehended, the more " were ſtill afflicted by Satan; and the Number of " the Confeſſors increaſing, did but increaſe the " Number of the accuſed; and the executing of " ſome made way for the apprehending of others; " for ſtill the Afflicted complained of being tor- " mented by new Objects, as the former were re- " moved: So that thoſe that were concerned, grew " amazed at the Number and Quality of the Per- " ſons accuſed; and feared, that Satan, by his Wiles, " had inwrapped innocent Perſons under the Impu- " tation of that Crime. And at laſt it was evi- " dently ſeen, that there muſt be a Stop put, or " the Generation of the Children of God would fall " under that Condemnation. Henceforth, therefore, " the Juries generally acquitted ſuch as were tried, " fearing they had gone too far before. And Sir " *William Phips* the Governor, reprieved all that were " condemned, even the Confeſſors as well as others. " And the Confeſſors generally fell off from their " Confeſſions; ſome ſaying, they remembred no-

" thing

" thing of what they had ſaid; and others ſaid, " they had belyed themſelves and others, *&c.*

" §. 12. He adds theſe Reaſons why he believed " they went too far:

" 1. The Numbers greater than could be ima- " gined to be really guilty.

" 2. The Quality. Religious Perſons, that had " taken great Pains to bring up their Children " well.

" 3. All the Nineteen that were executed, de- " nying the Crime to Death.

" 4. Upon ceaſing the Proſecution all was well " and quiet.

Adv. There is nothing in this whole Caſe that ſeems ſo ſtrange to me, as what they ſay of evil Spirits appearing in the Shape of innocent Perſons. Not but that it may poſſibly be true what is thought by ſome, That a Spirit, by his own natural Powers, can form either his own Subſtance or Vehicle, or borrow'd Matter into the Shape of any Man whatever: But I can never believe but that Divine Providence would interpoſe, and lay their Natural Powers under a Divine Reſtraint, rather than ſuffer them to uſe them for ſuch Miſchief; for otherwiſe good Men have no Defence againſt him. He may lay the Blame of his own Actions upon whom he will, and bring them under Condemnation for what he does.

Clerg. Yes, if they who are to judge them be ſo weak and credulous as to believe him; but if Magiſtrates do their Duty in true Judgment, and puniſh Offenders only for their own real Acts of Wickedneſs, not for Effects that Spirits work in other Mens Shapes without them, then his Appearances will hurt no Body. But if inſtead of this, contrary to the frequent Warnings in Scripture, they who are to judge thoſe Caſes, give evil Spirits that Advantage againſt them; Hath God any where promiſed that by a particular Act of Power He will ſave credulous Men from

from being deceived; becauſe otherwiſe, the Blood of innocent Men will be in danger? How much innocent Blood of Man is daily ſhed by the Superſtition of Perſecutors, or unjuſt Laws of Tyrants? How many righteous *Abels* fall every Day by Men that are as cruel and as ungodly as wicked *Cain?* And how do we know but that ſome may fall alſo by the Craft of evil Spirits deluding Magiſtrates that take not due Care to prevent them? Providence can make ſuch crooked Things ſtrait in the other World, and therefore in this may permit them for Probation: And therefore inſtead of tempting God, Men muſt take heed to their own Actions, or elſe they may bring this high Guilt upon themſelves, and Miſchief upon others. And as this is a Point that deſerves to be well remembred, tho' I have mention'd it once before, I will now add to it ſome Inſtances where evil Spirits have been ſaid to have appeared in the Shapes of thoſe that were not ſuſpected to be otherwiſe than very innocent and virtuous Perſons.

Adv. I hope you will give us no Examples but ſuch as you believe your ſelf.

Clerg. I cannot promiſe that, becauſe I know not what is true, and what not, in this Matter. Many a Man hath verily believed he hath ſeen a Spirit *externally* before him, when it hath been only an *internal* Image dancing in his own Brain. By this Means, Books are full of Stories of ſuch like Facts, and no Man can tell which of them are by real Spirits, which by diabolical Illuſion, either within or without the Brain; and which are only ſtrong Imaginations, without any Spirit at all. And therefore I dare not aſſure you of my own Belief of the Inſtances I ſhall give; yet I will promiſe to bring none but from ſober Authors, and ſuch as are uſually quoted and allowed of when they ſpeak againſt accus'd Witches: And therefore it is but common Juſtice that they

ſhould

ſhould have as much Credit when they deliver any thing that makes for them.

Lavater of *Walking Spirits*, (for it is the *Engliſh* Tranſlatition that I have by me) 1*ſt* Part, 19*th* Chapter, ſpeaks thus. ‘ I heard a grave wiſe Man, which was a ‘ Magiſtrate in the Territory of *Tigurie*, who affirmed, ‘ That as he and his Servant went through the Paſtures ‘ in the Summer very early, he ſpied one whom he knew ‘ very well, wickedly defiling himſelf with a Mare; ‘ wherewith being amazed, he returned back again, ‘ and knocked at his Houſe whom he ſuppoſed he had ‘ ſeen, and there underſtood for Certainty, that he ‘ went not one Foot out of his Chamber that Morn- ‘ ing, *&c.* I rehearſe *(ſaith he)* this Hiſtory for this ‘ End, That Judges ſhould be very circumſpect in ‘ theſe Caſes; for the Devil by theſe means doth ‘ often circumvent the Innocent.

Mr. *Clark*, in his 1*ſt* Vol. of *Examples*, p. 150. reports how an evil Spirit appeared to Mr. *Earl* at one Time in the Form of Mr. *Lyddal*, and at another under the Form of the famous Mr. *Rogers* of *Dedham*. To be ſure that evil Spirit appeared to Mr. *Earl* for ſome evil Purpoſe; and if inſtead of appearing to him, he had appeared to ſome melancholy Perſon, that had been thought to be under the Power of Witchcraft, Muſt thoſe two good Men have come under the Suſpicion of being Wizzards?

Papiſts have many Relations of this ſort. I will give you one, that was either true in Fact, or which from the Obſervation of ſuch like Facts, was contrived to give the Readers needful Caution. It is in *Barth. de Spina*, in his *Queſtiones de Strigibus*. ---- ‘ There he tells us, that *S. German* lodging in an Inn ‘ in the Night-time, ſaw a Rendezvous of Witches ‘ feaſting and dancing; and calling up the People of ‘ the Houſe, he ask'd them, if they knew thoſe Per- ‘ ſons: They ſaid, yes, they were their Neighbours, ‘ that lived in the ſame Town; whereupon to con-

'vince them of the Devil's Wiles, he commanded 'the Spirits to keep their Places; and ſent the Peo-'ple to the Houſes of thoſe Neighbours that they 'ſaw, and they found them all in their Beds at home. 'Upon this St. *German* adjured the Devils, and they 'confeſs'd, that they had taken thoſe Shapes to im-'poſe upon credulous Men.' Very likely that Legend was contrived by ſomebody or other who knew that bare Arguments of Reaſon would not be ſtrong enough to cope with a rooted Error of that Nature; and therefore thought it would be no Sin, but a needful Service, to drive out one Superſtition with another: And ſince it was only to teach People the Snares of the Devil, and ſave the Lives of innocent People, after ſo many bloody Executions as they had ſeen, it will be very neceſſary that we ſhould receive the Doctrine, tho' we neglect the Tale.

Theſe good People in *New England* have had, perhaps, as large Experience of theſe Matters as any; and in the midſt of their Confuſions, their Clergy had a Meeting at the Deſire of their Magiſtrates, to give their Opinion in ſeveral Caſes propoſed to them: And the Queſtion was, *Whether Satan may not appear in the Shape of an innocent and pious, as well as of a nocent and wicked Perſon, to afflict ſuch as ſuffer by Diabolical Moleſtation?* And they returned it as their Opinion, *That he might*; and confirmed it not only by Examples of other Times and Places, but by what they had ſeen amongſt themſelves. And it is particularly obſervable, how in the latter Part of their Tragedy, Mr. *Cotton Mather* changed his Mind in this Point from what he had been of in the Beginning: For in the 27*th* Page of his *Memorable Prov.* he adviſed the afflicted young Woman in his Houſe, if ſhe could not tell the Names of thoſe that ſhe ſaw at the Witches Meetings, to deſcribe them by their Cloaths. But in the Year 1693, when he viſited another in a like Caſe, he ſaith, He and his Father *gave her*

her ſolemn Charges, that ſhe ſhould rather die, than tell the Names of any whom ſhe might imagine that ſhe ſaw. See Mr. *Mather*'s Letter in Mr. *Caleſ*, p. 20. I ſpeak not this in way of Reproach; for we are not the Men that may upbraid one another for altering our Minds, when God teaches us Wiſdom by his Providence; but when others ſee an Error, let not us continue in it.

Since I have collected and drawn up theſe Things, I ſee the Author of *The Compleat Hiſtory of Witchcraft*, &c. hath printed the *Firſt* Facts and Depoſitions that deceived theſe good People in *New England*, and hath ſtopt there, without giving any manner of Notice of the Miſchief that follow'd, and the Sorrow they had for what they had done: And who can be able to give a rational Anſwer to ſuch a Caſe, where the Fact is laid before him ſo partially? How certainly muſt our People fall into the ſame Follies, if their Minds are poiſoned with ſuch falſe Hiſtory, and no one troubles himſelf to anſwer them, and let the Truth be ſeen. I hope therefore ingenious Men will not only juſtify me with reſpect to the Pains that I have taken in this Subject, but will take part in ſuch Labours as are neceſſary to decry ſuch ill Books, and prevent the Miſchief they muſt neceſſarily do, if ſuffered to paſs as true Hiſtory unanſwer'd.

CHAP.